

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 06609 01 OF 02 272213Z

67

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-05 L-02 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

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SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4762

CINCLANT

CINCUSAFE

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CINCUSNAVEUR

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 6609

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO

SUBJECT: DPC MEETING NOVEMBER 26 1974: MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE
(AGENDA ITEM I)

REF: A. USNATO 6499

B. USNATO 6520 (NOTAL)

C. STATE 260148 (NOTAL)

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING NOVEMBER 26 DISCUSSION OF KEY ELEMENTS
OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, DPC ADOPTED DRC-SUBMITTED DRAFT OF
ALTERNATIVES (EXCEPT FOR RESOURCES SECTION) WITH MINOR CHANGES
TO COVER LETTER AND KEY ELEMENTS. DPC RETURNED DRAFT ON
RESOURCES TO DRC FOR FURTHER WORK. US REJECTED UK PROPOSAL TO
DELETE SENTENCE IN KEY ELEMENT ON "RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
RESOURCES AND STRATEGY" WHICH SPECIFIES THAT CONVENTIONAL
ALLIANCE FORCES ARE MAIN DETERRENT AND DEFENSE AGAINST
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 06609 01 OF 02 272213Z

CONVENTIONAL ATTACKS. DPC GENERALLY AGREED THAT ALTERNATIVES
PROVIDE SOUND BASIS FOR FULL AND FRANK EXCHANGE AT MINISTERIAL
LEVEL. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON KEY ELEMENTS (DPC/D(74)30 (DRAFT), REF A), INVITED PERM REPS TO COMMENT ON WHAT THEIR DEFENSE MINISTERS MIGHT SAY IN DECEMBER, AND EMPHASIZED THAT MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE WAS FOR DEFENSE MINISTERS TO THOROUGHLY DISCUSS ALTERNATIVES IN DRAFT DURING DECEMBER MINISTERIAL.

2. ERALP (TURKEY) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WERE READY TO APPROVE DRAFT AS BASIS FOR MINISTERIAL DISCUSSION, BUT ASKED FOR REVISED LANGUAGE ON WARNING OF WAR (ANNEX A.1 TO DPC/D(74)30, PARA 3) TO CLEARLY INDICATE THAT WARNING TIME FOR AN ATTACK ON SOUTHEASTERN FLANK WOULD BE LESS THEN 48 HOURS. SYG LUNS, SUPPORTED BY BUSCH (NORWAY), SAID EXISTING LANGUAGE SQUARED WITH MC 161(74) AND CLEARLY PROVIDED FOR LESS THEN 48 HOURS WARNING. ERALP (TURKEY) ACCEPTED EXISTING LANGUAGE ON STIPULATION THAT IT MEANT LESS THAN 48 HOURS WARNING TIME.

3. CITING SYG LUNS' CALL FOR MINISTERS TO "GIVE DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER DRAFTING WORK" (COVER LETTER, PARA 5, REF A), DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) SAID DRAFT ALREADY ENCOMPASSED LENGTHY DRC EFFORTS, SUBSTANTIAL IS SUPPORT, THE US DISCUSSION PAPER ON MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE, AND THE MILITARY APPRECIATION. HE ASKED:

A. WHAT FURTHER VIEWS DOES SYG LUNS WANT FROM DEFENSE MINISTERS?

B. WHAT DOES SECRETARY SCHLESINGER INTEND TO DO? WILL HE "COME BACK TO HIS LONG RANGE CONCEPT"?

C. HOW DOES SYG LUNS INTEND TO DIRECT DEFENSE MINISTERS' DISCUSSIONS?

4. SYG LUNS SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER OR, FOR THAT MATTER, DEFENSE MINISTERS VREDELING AND VANDEN BOEYNANTS WOULD SAY IN DECEMBER, BUT HE SUGGESTED DEFENSE MINISTERS SHOULD ACCOMPLISH TWO THINGS:

A. THOROUGHLY DISCUSS ISSUES RAISED IN DRAFT KEY
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 06609 01 OF 02 272213Z

ELEMENTS PAPER.

B. DECCIDE WHETHER NEXT MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE DOCUMENT WOULD FOLLOW "DIRECTIVE" FORM OF PREVIOUS VERSIONS OR ENCOMPASS "LONG-RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT" PROPOSED BY UNITED STATES. DE STAERCKE RESPONDED THAT DEFENSE MINISTERS REQUIRE "SOME KING OF GUIDANCE" FOR THEIR DISCUSSIONS. HE SAID BELGIUM, ALONG WITH IS, BELIEVED MINISTERS SHOULD FOLLOW TRADITIONAL MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE FORMAT AND EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THEIR ATTEMPTS TO CONSTRUCT A "LONG-RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT" PROPOSED BY THE UNITED STATES WOULD LEAD TO CONFUSION. DE STAERCKE AND SYG LUNS ASKED FOR US COMMENTS.

5. MCAULIFFE (US) REMINDED DPC OF HIS STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 23, WHICH STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF ONGOING DRC WORK IN IDENTIFYING KEY ELEMENTS OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE. MCAULIFFE SAID MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE WORKS IN TWO WAYS: AS INSTRUCTION TO NMA'S, AND AS A PLEDGE GIVEN BY MINISTERS FOR THEIR GOVERNMENTS. HE CONGRATULATED DRC FOR AN OUTSTANDING JOB OF LAYING OUT ALTERNATIVES WHICH MINISTERS MAY OR MAY NOT WISH TO DISCUSS, REMARKING THAT THESE ALTERNATIVES STEM FROM SEOM REAL AND BASIC DIFFERENCES OF VIEW CONCERNING THE STATE OF NATO DEFENSES, PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF THOSE DEFENSES AND THE WAY THAT ALLIES SHOULD PLAN COLLECTIVELY FOR COLLECTIVE ALLIED SECURITY. HE THEN EPITOMIZED THE TWO SETS OF VIEWS WHICH THE DRAFT ALTERNATIVES SHOW: ONE FAVORING A LARGELY BUSINESS-AS-USUAL APPROACH IN THE FORM OF A DIRECTIVE TO MILITARY AUTHORITIES CONTAINING 1) ONLY VAGUE AND AMBIGUOUS MONETARY GUIDELINES, 2) NEAR WORST-CASE ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT ALLIED ABILITY TO OBSERVE WAR PREPARATIONS BY THE OTHER SIDE, 3) A DIM VIEW OF NATIONS' INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE ABILITY TO RESPOND APPROPRIATELY DURING TIMES OF CRISIS AND TENSION, AND 4) A GLOOMY ASSESSMENT OF NATO'S CURRENT ABILITY TO DEFEND CONVENTIONALLY AGAINST CONVENTIONAL ATTACK AS "SO POOR THAT WE IN NATO WOULD GIVE PRIORITY ONLY TO FORCES AVAILABLE IN THE FIRST FEW DAYS OF A CONFLICT." MCAULIFFE CHARACTERIZED THE OTHER SIDE OF THE EQUATION AS REPRESENTING A SET OF VIEWS WHICH WOULD HANGE THE WAY THAT THE ALLIANCE OR THE ALLIES DO BUSINESS. THIS VIEW WOULD CALL THE ALLIANCE OR THE ALLIES DO BUSINESS. THIS VIEW WOULD CALL ON THE ALLIANCE AND ON ALLIED GOVERNMENTS TO BASE THEIR PLANNING ON A LONG-TERM DEFENSE CONCEPT WHICH STRESSES
SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 06609 01 OF 02 272213Z

BOTH THE NECESSITY AND POSSIBILITY OF BUILDING A DEFENSE SYSTEM IN WHICH CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE IS POSSIBLE AGAINST PLAUSIBLE OR LIKELY CONVENTIONAL ATTACKS OR THREATS OF ATTACKS. HE STATED U.S. BELIEF THAT THIS IS "NECESSARY" BECAUSE USSR HAS DRAWN ABREAST OF THE UNITED STATES IN STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONRY, AND LACK OF AN ALLIED STALWART CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY WOULD UNDERMINE THE TOTAL CREDIBILITY OF THE DETERRENT TRIAD; IT IS ALSO "POSSIBLE" BECAUSE, DESPITE LIMITS ON ALLIED RESOURCES, THE ALLIES HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO COOPERATE: 1) TO STANDARDIZE

SECRET

PAGE 01 NATO 06609 02 OF 02 272240Z

67

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-05 L-02 ACDA-05

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R 271655Z NOV 74
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9029
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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4763
CINCLANT
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CINCUSNAVEUR
USCINCEUR
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USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 6609

WEAPONS 2) TO DIVIDE COLLECTIVE TASKS FOR MORE EFFECTIVE
FULFILLMENT 3) TO POOL SOME FACILITIES, ESPECIALLY SUPPORT
FACILITIES 4) TO PLAN FOR FLEXIBLE AND SENSIBLE USE OF FORCES
IN THE EVENT OF ATTACK OR THREAT OF ATTACK 5) IN SHORT, TO
MUTUALLY SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER. HE STATED THAT THIS IS AN
OPPORTUNITY FOR MINISTERS AND THAT THE ALLIES CAN, IN U.S.
VIEW SO SHAPE THEIR COLLECTIVE PRIORITIES TO STRENGTHEN
CONVENTIONAL LEG OF THE TRIAD AND PRESERVE CREDIBILITY OF THE
TOTAL DETERRENT. MCAULIFFE THEN REMINDED DPC THAT MINISTERS
WOULD HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO OPT FOR ONE OR MORE OF THE SETS
OF ALTERNATIVES; HE SAID THAT SECRETARY SCHLESINGER PLANS
TO BE HONEST, FORTHRIGHT, SUBSTANTIVE AND CANDID IN HIS
DISCUSSION OF THEM AND THAT THE US HOPED FOR EQUAL CANDOR FROM
ALLIED DEFENSE MINISTERS. HE NOTED THAT WHERE DIFFERENCES
EXIST, US HOPES THEY WILL BE AIRED, ESPECIALLY IN THE
RESTRICTED SESSION. IF RESULT OF THE DECEMBER DPC MINISTERIAL
IS A MERE DECISION TO RUBBER-STAMP PREVIOUS MINISTERIAL
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 06609 02 OF 02 272240Z

GUIDANCE WITH A FEW WORD CHANGES, SO BE IT; BUT THE US
CONFIDENTLY HOPES THAT THE RESULT WILL BE AN ALLIED CONSENSUS FOR
BROADER AND MORE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE THAT WILL GIVE THE ALLIANCE
A LONG-TERM CAPABILITY FOR CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE AGAINST SOLELY
CONVENTIONAL ATTACK. HE CLOSED BY HOPING FOR A FULL MINISTERIAL
EXCHANGE, AND ACCEPTED THE DRAFT. FINALLY, HE INTRODUCED AND
CIRCULATED TWO CHANGES TO THE DRAFT ON RESOURCES AS INSTRUCTED
REF C. AT CLOSE OF MCAULIFFE REMARKS, ERALP, ECHOED BY OTHER
DPC MEMBERS AND SYG, REQUESTED A COPY OF MCAULIFFE'S SPEAKING
NOTES. MCAULIFFE AGREED TO PROVIDE THEM.

6. HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) CHARACTERIZED DRAFT AS "VERY GOOD",
BUT SAID PARA 5 OF COVER LETTER (REF A) IMPLIED MINISTERS WOULD
CHOOSE EITHER "DIRECTIVE" FORM OF PREVIOUS GUIDANCE OR "LONG-
RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT" PROPOSED BY UNITED STATES. HE SAID
MINISTERS NEED NOT CHOOSE ONE OR THE OTHER. SYG LUNS SAID HE
HAD NOT MEANT THAT THERE WERE ONLY TWO POSSIBLE CHOICES AND

AGREED TO REVISE COVER LETTER ACCORDINGLY. HARTOGH SAID PARA 4 OF COVER LETTER READING, "NO AGREEMENT HAS YET BEEN REACHED" ERRONEOUSLY IMPLIED THAT DRC AND DPC HAD TRIED AND FAILED TO REACH AGREED LANGUAGE. ASYG HUMPHREYS SAID DRC HAD NOT REPEAT NOT TRIED TO SEEK AGREED LANGUAGE BUT RATHER TO DEVELOP CLEAR ALTERNATIVES FOR MINISTERS TO DISCUSS.

7. PECK (UK) SAID DRAFT WAS "USEFUL WAY OF PROCEEDING" AND THAT HE WOULD NOT RECOMMEND MINOR LANGUAGE REVISIONS. HOWEVER, HE SAID SENTENCE IN KEY ELEMENT ON "RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESOURCES AND STRATEGY" READING. "CONVENTIONAL FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED THE MAIN DETERRENT AND DEFENSE AGAINST PLAUSIBLE CONVENTIONAL ATTACKS, BACKED BY THEATER AND STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE" (ANNEX D.1, PARA 1(A), REF A) CONTAINED A "DANGEROUS THOUGHT THAT MISUNDERSTANDS NATURE OF DETERRENCE" AND ASKED DPC TO ELIMINATE ENTIRE SENTENCE. HE SAID UK WAS NOT REPEAT NOT AGAINST IMPROVING CONVENTIONAL CAPABILITY, BUT THAT "UNCERTAINTY IS ESSENCE OF DETERRENCE" AND DPC SHOULD NOT DIVIDE TRIAD INTO SEPARATE ELEMENTS WITH RESULTING IMPLICATION THAT CONVENTIONAL FORCES CAN "DO IT ALL." DE STAERCKE SUPPORTED PECK'S RATIONALE AND ASKED IF A REPLACEMENT WORD FOR "MAIN" MIGHT SALVAGE SENTENCE. KRAPF (FRG) RECOMMENDED DPC RETAIN MODIFIED SENTENCE BUT DROP THE WORDS "DETERRENT AND." HE SAID THE MAIN DETERRENT IS NUCLEAR
SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 06609 02 OF 02 272240Z

FORCES. MCAULIFFE SAID HE COULD ACCEPT DROPPING THE WORDS "DETERRENT AND" BUT REFUSED TO MAKE MORE EXTENSIVE CHANGES. PECK THEN SUGGESTED PLACING ENTIRE SENTENCE IN BRACKETS; MCAULIFFE AND LUNS AGREED.

8. ERALP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES FELT PROLONGED, LIMITED-SCALE HOSTILITIES IN SOUTHEASTERN FLANK WERE UNLIKELY IN VIEW OF PRESENT FORCE BALANCE IN THAT AREA AND ASKED THAT PERM REPS ACCEPT ADDITIONAL SENTENCE IN ANNEX B.2, PARA 7 TO THIS EFFECT. LUNS AGREED.

9. REFERRING TO ANNEX C ON RESOURCES, DE STAERCKE SAID HIS AUTHORITIES SUPPORTED OPTIONS 4A AND 5B. HE SAID OTHER OPTIONS, SUCH AS 4D AND 4E, WERE IMPOSSIBLE FOR MANY NATIONS TO ACHIEVE AND SHOULD THEREFORE BE DROPPED. LUNS SAID HE WOULD RETURN RESOURCES SECTION TO DRC FOR ADDITIONAL WORK; ASYG HUMPHREYS ANNOUNCED DRC WOULD MEET NOVEMBER 27 TO CONSIDER BOTH BELGIUM AND US INPUTS ON RESOURCES.
MCAULIFFE

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CINCLANT
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CINCUSAREUR
CINCUSNAVEUR
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